

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 7244

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 11736

FOR CODEL HAMILTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EG US XF

SUBJ: CODEL HAMILTON MEETING WITH SADAT

FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF SUBJECT MEETING SENT LONDON FOR
CODEL CLEARANCE. CODEL REQUESTED TO MAKE ANY ADDITIONS,
CORRECTIONS OR DELETIONS NECESSARY AND INFORM ADDRESSEES.

1. CODEL HAMILTON MET WITH PRES SADAT FOR ONE HOUR IN
ALEXANDRIA JULY 13. VICE PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND THE
AMBASSADOR ATTENDED. MR. HAMILTON EXPRESSED APPRECIATION
FOR OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT AND SAID PURPOSE
OF CODEL VISIT TO ISRAEL, SAYRIA, JORDAN AND EGYPT WAS
TO DETERMINE WHERE WE ARE ON ME PEACE PROCESS. CODEL
WOULD LIKE PRESIDENT SADAT'S IMPRESSIONS. SADAT EXPRESSED
GRATITUDE OF EGYPTIAN PEOPLE FOR US ASSISTANCE AND FOR
COMPLETE GOE-US UNDERSTANDING THAT EXISTS, EVEN THOUGH
WE DISAGREE ON SOME MATTERS. AFTER BRIEFLY REVIEWING
SINAI I AND II AGREEMENTS, SADAT SAID TIME IS RIPE
TO PREPARE FOR GLOBAL SOLUTION. HE IS WAITING FOR
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SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT IN LATE JULY OR EARLY AUGUST
AND HOPES THAT LOST MOMENTUM CAN BE REGAINED. AS FOR
EGYPT, IT IS READY FOR A PERMANENT PEACE.

2. MR. HAMILTON REFERRED TO RESOLUTION 242 AND ASKED
WHAT SPECIFIC STEPS PRESIDENT ENVISIONED FOR
TRADE OFF BETWEEN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND END OF STATE OF

BELLIGERENCY. SADAT SAID WHENEVER " WE REACH TURNING POINT IN PEACE PROCESS ISRAEL ISSUES TRIAL BALLOONS. THEY USED TO SAY WE WANT PEACE AND ARABS DON'T". NOW, THEY WANT WITHDRAWAL BY PHASES AND AT EACH PHASE A PART OF PEACE FROM OUR SIDE. THIS WILL NOT BRING PEACE. "AS LONG AS ONE ISRAELI SOLDIER IS ON MY LAND I CANNOT END STATE OF BELLIGERENCY". SADAT PROPOSED PACKAGE SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD INCLUDE (A) PEACE AGREEMENT IN GENEVA WITH ALL PARTIES ATTENDING; (B) END OF STAT OF BELLIGERENCY; (C) WITHDRAWAL TO '67 BORDERS; (D) CREATION OF APLESTINIAN STATE ON WEST BANK AND GAZA WITH A CORRIDOR; AND (E) ANY KIND OF GUARANTEE FOR ISRAEL THAT IT WANTS (ALTHOUGH EGYPT WILL WANT SAME GUARANTEES) TO INCLUDE DMZ'S ON RECIPROCAL BASIS, EARLY WARNING STATIONS, AND UN FORCES. SADAT SAID RESOLUTION 242 IS BASIS FOR GENEVA AND PLACES OBLIGATION ON BOTH SIDES. "LET US FULFILL THEM AS A PACKAGE DEAL" AND ALL SIDES ISSUES SUCH AS THE BOYCOTT WILL BE RESOLVED AUTOMATICALLY.

3. MR. HAMILTON ASKED IF THERE MUST BE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL BEFORE END OF STATE OF BELLIGERENCY. SADAT RESPONDED THAT WITHDRAWAL CAN BE PHASED OVER 3-6 MONTHS, BUT NO MORE. PEACE AGREEMENT WOULD START TO FUNCTION AND STATE OF BELIGERENCY END THE MOMENT THE LAST ISRAELI SOLDIER LEAVES OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

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4. MR. ROSENTHAL SAID PRESIDENT'S POSITION WAS CLEAR AS WELL AS THAT OF OTHER ME LEADERS. HE ASKED IF THESE ARE THE FINAL POSITION OR IS THERE SOME FLEXIBILITY? SADAT SAID HE HAD TOLD PRES CARTER THAT NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT BE CONDUCTED IN PUBLIC. FOR THIS REASON HE HAD ASKED THAT AWORKING GROUP, UNDER SECRETARY VANCE, BE SET UP TO PREPARE FOR GENEVA. ISRAEL SHOULD TRUST THE US SINCE US IS ISRAEL'S LIFELINE. "I TRUST THE US AND BELIEVE YOU ARE THE ONLY PARTY THAT CAN BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER. GENEVA CONFERENCE REQUIRES CAREFUL PREPARATION BE SUCCESSFUL. THERE IS SOME FLEXIBILITY ON BOTH SIDES BUT ONLY THE US CAN FIND IT

5. MR. MIKVA SIAD PRIMIN BEGIN HAD FOUND SOME OF SADAT'S STATEMENTS HELPFUL AND HE THEN REFERRED TO GEGIN'S CALL FOR POLITICAL TRUCE UNTIL GENEVA. SADAT SAID HE AGREED WITH THIS IDEA AND HE IS NOT ISSUING BELLIGENERENT STATEMENTS, DESPITE SOME ISRAELI STATEMENTS SINCE ELECTION WHICH HAVE BEEN PROVOCATIVE. " WE HAVE KEPT QUIET."

6. MR. OBEY ASKED HOW THE PLO COULD PARTICIPATE IN

GENEVA? SADAT SAID , SPEAKING FRANKLY, IF ISRAEL INTENDS TO HAVE PEACE THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEM, BUT AS HE HAS SAID MANY TIMES CONFLICT IS 70 PERCENT PSYCHOLOGICAL AND 30 PERCENT REAL). HIS POSITION IS THAT PALESTINIAN STATE SHOULD HAVE AN OFFICIAL, DECREED CONNECTION WITH JORDAN ANNOUNCED PRIOR TO GENEVA. KING HUSAYN HAS AGREED, IN PRINCIPLE, EXCEPT THAT HE SAYS LIK CAN BE NEGOTIATED BUT NOT DECLARED PRIOR TO GENEVA. SADAT STRESSED THAT PALESTINE IS THE MAIN ISSUE AND IF ISRAEL IS SERIOUS ABOUT PEACE AND PROBLEM IS TO BE SOLVED, PALESTINE MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

7. NR. ROSENTHAL SAID PM BEGIN HAS EXPRESSED MANY TIMES SINCERITY OF HIS DESIRE FOR PEACE AND MR. HAMILTON
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ADDED THAT BEGIN HAS CALLED FOR GENEVA WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS AND FOR POLITICAL TRUCE UNTIL GENEVA. SADAT RESPONDED THAT HE FOUND THIS AN ENCOURAGING SIGN.

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 EUR-08 /032 W
-----059621 142322Z /65

O R 141443Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY JIDDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAIRO 11736

FOR CODEL HAMILTON

8. MR. HAMILTON REFERRED TO THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AND THE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED FIVE YEAR PERIOD. HE ASKED WHAT WOULD EXIST AT THE END OF THIS PROCESS. FULL RELATIONS? SADAT SAID THE ISRAELIS ARE NOW TALKING OF OPEN BORDERS, TRADE AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BUT THESE ARE ALL MATTERS OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. AFTER 30 YEARS OF WAR CONFLICT, AND HATRED, ONE CANNOT START WITH OPEN BORDERS AND TRADE. IT IS UNPRECEDENTED IN HISTORY THAT SUCH CONDITIONS ARE PART OF A PEACE AGREEMENT. SADAT SAID THAT AFTER ESTABLISHING PEACE THROUGH AN END OF STATE OF BELLIGERENCY A NEW ATMOSPHERE WILL BE CREATED IN WHICH POSSIBILITIES FOR NORMALIZING RELATIONS WILL OPEN UP, BUT " WE NEED TIME". HE QUESTIONED VALUE OF ECONOMIC EXCHANGES SINCE BOTH ECONOMIES ARE IN EQUALLY SUCH BAD SHAPE.

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9. MR. MIKVA SAID BOTH SIDES SAY THEY WANT PEACE, BUT ISRAELIS SAY PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ACTS ARE CONTINUING AND THIS PROVES ARABS DON'T WANT PEACE. SADAT SAID HEHAD TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAVE BEEN TOTALLY IGNORED BY EVERYONE. THEY DON'T EVEN HAVE THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS, WHEREAS THE ISRAELIS HAVE ENVERYTHING: STATEHOOD, RECOGNITION, ETC, THE US SHOULD HAVE CONTACT WITH THE PLO AND BEGIN A DIALOGUE SO "WE CAN GET ON WITH GENEVA". A PALESTINIAN STATE WILL HAVE A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

10. MR. ROSENTHAL ASKED IF ANY THOUGHT WAS BEING GIVEN TO REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS TO FOSTER ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PEACE BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAEL. SADAT SAID THE US CAN DO A GREAT DEAL. IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, FOR EXAMPLE,DURING SINAI I NEOGITATIONS DEADLOCK HAD OCCURRED. SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD THEN PUT FORWARD AMERICAN PROPOSAL BECAUSE HE KNEW THE POSITIONS AND FLEXIBILITY OF BOTH SIDES. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, DISCUSSION OF A LONG RANGE PLAN FOR ARABS AND ISRAEL IS NOT FEASIBLE NOW BUT ON A BILATERAL BASIS MUCH CAN BE DONE. AFTER A PEACE AGREEMENT "WE CAN TRY TO DISCUSS REGIONAL ECONOMIC PROJECTS."

11. IN RESPONSE TO MR. ROSENTHAL'S QUERY ABOUT AFRICA, SADAT SAID WHAT HE HAD SAID IN WASHINGTON FOUR MONTHS AGO HAS COME TRUE. SOVIETS ARE NOW VERY ACTIVE IN ETHIOPIA, LIBYA AND ELSEWHERE. HE DID NOT WANT AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO FIGHT HIS BATTLES. SOVIET ARMS ARE POURING

INTO ETHIOPIA AND HE HAS GREAT CONCERN ABOUT FUTURE
OF SUDAN WHICH FOR HISTORIC, ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC
REASONS IS CRUCIAL TO EGYPT. USSR HE CLAIMED IS
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BEHIND ETHIOPIA 100 PERCENT AND DURING FONMIN FAHMY
VISIT TO MOSCOW IN JUNE HE HAD BEEN GIVEN MESSAGE
FROM BREZHNEV SAYING THE USSR WILL CONTINUE ACTIVITIES
IN AFRICA AND IS BEHIND ETHIOPIA. IT IS A "DANGEROUS
SITUATION".

12. MR. HAMILTON SAID THERE WAS GREAT HOPE FOR 1977,
BUT IF WE DON'T GET TO GENEVA WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN
THE ARAB WORLD? SADAT REPLIED THAT IF THE ISRAELIS
STICK TO AN "ARROGANT" POLICY, SITUATION WILL BE
DANGEROUS. HOWEVER, IF GENEVA STARTS THERE WILL BE
NO PROBLEM EVEN THOUGH AN AGREEMENT COULD NOT BE
REACHED BY END OF YEAR. IF NO PROGRESS AT ALL IS
MADE IT WILL BE "VERY DANGEROUS".

13. MR. HAMILTON ASKED SADAT'S OPINION OF LEBANESE
REQUEST FOR US ARMS ASSISTANCE? SADAT SAID US DE-
FINITELY SHOULD PROVIDE ARMS TO LEBANON. HE SAID
HE HAD PERSUADED LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO COME TO GENEVA
DESPITE ITS INITIAL HESITATION. SADAT BELIEVES THAT
AGREEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE ALL BORDER STATES. MR.
HAMILTON ASKED ABOUT ASAD'S PURPOSE IN LEBANON.
SADAT SAID THAT SYRIA WAS IN LEBANON WITH AUTHO-
RIZATION OF THE ARAB LEAGUE AS RESULT FOF THE RIYADH
AND CAIRO CONFERENCES LAST FALL. SYRIAN FORCES ARE
A PART OF AN ARAB COMBINED FORCE. AS SOON AS THE
LEBANESE ARMY IS ESTABLISHED, TRAINED AND ARMED,
SYRIA WILL GO BACK HOME.

14. MR. HAMILTON SAID THERE WAS A FEEL ING AMONG SOME
ARAB LEADERS THAT IT IS UP TO THE US TO APPLY GREAT
PRESSURE ON ISRAEL. THIS WAS AN ERRONEOUS VIEW AND
THERE IS LITTLE CHANGE THAT US WOULD EXERT SUCH
PRESSURE OR DICTATE TERMS OF AN AGREEMENT. SADAT
SAID " YOU SAY THIS T MAKE THE ISRAELIS FEEL AT EASE".
FACT REMAINS THAT ONLY THE US CAN DO IT. HE WOULD
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NOT ACCEPT AN IMPOSED SOLUTION EITHER BUT ROLE OF US
WOULD BE AS IN FIRST SINAI AGREEMENT TO BRING THE TWO
SIDE TOGETHER. US CANNOT DENY THAT IT PROVIDES ISRAEL

WITH EVERYTHING. US IS "100 PERCENT RESPONSIBLE" FOR ISRAEL AND NO ARAB WOULD BELIEVE THAT US SHOULD NOT EXERT PRESSURE FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE. EGYPT DOES NOT WISH TO CHANGE SPECIAL US-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP , BUT EGYPTIAN LAND IS OCCUPIED AND US SHOULD BE "LOGICAL". AFTER FOUR WARS AND VIOLENCE AND HATRED OF 29 YEARS, ISRAEL AND ARABS NEED "SOMEONE TO BRING THEM TOGETHER". EGYPT HAS TRUST IN US BUT "THOSE TO WHOM YOU GIVE EVERYTHING DON'T TRUST YOU". HE HAS SAID MANY TIMES THAT US HAS 99 PERCENT OF THE CARDS AND THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO COMPLAIN ABOUT IT. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS TRUE.

15. MR. HAMILTON THANKED PRES SADAT AND REITERATED THE GREAT RESPECT THE CONGRESS HAS FOR HIM. SADAT SAID HE WISHED TO SEND HIS THANKS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH THE CODEL AND TO TELL THEM THAT THE US HAS STRONG FRIENDS IN EGYPT WHO WILL ALWAYS TELL THEM THE TRUTH, WHETHER IT IS LIKED OR NOT.
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TAGS: PBOR, PGOV, EG, US, XF, (HAMILTON, LEE H), (SADAT, ANWAR)
To: LONDON
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